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What is the Meaning of Marriage for the Christian?

BISHOP NOLL



Democracy and Total War: Universal Chaos or Slavery

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

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American Youth Congress

GENE TUNNEY

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VOL. XXXVIII AUGUST 22, 1940

No. 904

Pastoral Letter on Marriage

MOST REV. JOHN FRANCIS NOLL

Bishop of Ft. Wayne, Ind.

ALTHOUGH most people are called by God to embrace the state of Matrimony, it is becoming increasingly risky for a Catholic to enter a marriage contract except with one of his or her own religion.

The number of marriage failures has grown so rapidly from year to year in this nation that the United States now leads all countries in the world in divorces, as it also does in crime. Short-lived marriages are becoming so common that they no longer attract unfavorable notice.

The older parishioners among you will recall how the remarried divorcee was once socially ostracized, but today, despite the fact that before God he or she lives in adultery, no public animosity is shown towards him or her.

From the latest statistics on divorces we cull these comparative ratios between marriages and divorces in several countries:

England had only one divorce last year for every ninety-six marriages.

France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries had an average of only one divorce to every thirty-five marriages.

In Canada, there was only one divorce for every 161 marriages.

In the United States there was one divorce for every seven marriages.

The United States leads all the countries of the world, with Japan, an almost total pagan country, as a close second.

In some countries there were no divorces because they are not granted.

The ratio of one to seven is for the United States as a whole, including rural areas where the proportion is not nearly so large. In many cities the record is one divorce for every three or even for every two marriages. In the city of Chicago there were nearly as many applications for divorce last year as for a marriage license, and among the non-Catholic population there were probably more applications for divorce than for marriage. The 1,400,000 Catholics of that city did not figure largely in the divorce courts.

The effect on the mentality of the American people is evident. They now take divorce as much for granted as marriage. Most non-Catholics no longer think of marriage as a permanent contract and hence, antecedently, assume the right to apply for a separation from their marriage partners if they should tire of them or become attracted to another.

Those who have that antecedent attitude cannot even marry validly, and for this reason the Church requires that the non-Catholic, desirous of marrying a Catholic, declare over his signature that he regards marriage as *indissoluble* except by death.

The Catholic who believes in the permanency of the marriage bond certainly should not marry one who does not believe in it with equal firmness, because the lifelong fidelity of such a one could not be assured.

Marriage is what God, its author, declared it to be, namely, a lifelong covenant. Therefore neither the State nor the Church has any right whatsoever to

change its indissoluble nature. There is no discoverable warrant either in Holy Scripture or in the Natural Law for a second marriage as long as both parties to the first valid union are still alive.

WHAT DOES HOLY SCRIPTURE SAY?

The New Testament contains five plain declarations on the indissolubility of marriage, four of them being quotations from Our Lord's own words as recorded in Matthew v, 32, and xix, 9; in Mark x, 9-12; in Luke vi, 18. Then Saint Paul, who prefaces his declaration with the words: "Not I, but the Lord commands" in I Cor. vii, 10, 11; and Rom. vii, 2, 3, denounces absolute divorce in the severest terms.

Sometimes verse 32 of Chapter V, of Saint Matthew is interpreted to justify absolute divorce *in one case*. His words are "*whosoever shall put away his wife except for the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery.*" But that Saint Matthew refers only to what we would call *civil separation with no permission to remarry* is evident from the very next verse, which reads, "and he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery." But Saint Mark, Saint Luke, Saint Paul, also quoting Christ, make no reference to any exception.

Mark writes: "*Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery; and if the wife should put away her husband and be married to another she committeth adultery.*" Saint Luke is equally clear. He writes: "*Everyone that puts away his wife and marries another committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her who is put away from her husband committeth adultery.*" Saint Paul emphatically states that death alone dissolves the marriage vow.

How any Protestant can maintain that the Bible is his rule of faith and still uphold the dissolution of the marriage bond is impossible to understand.

When you, therefore, answer questions about divorce, never say that *your Church* forbids it, but that it is forbidden in the clearest terms by God Himself, over Whose laws the Church has absolutely no jurisdiction. The Church is God's agent on earth and must defend His laws. She would not represent Him nor deserve the respect of people if she did not.

WHAT DOES THE NATURAL LAW DICTATE?

According to the Law of Nature, marriage must be permanent if husband or wife is to be protected against the other forming a new friendship, or if the rights of the children to the care and support of both parents are to be safeguarded.

Children are innocent parties to every divorce, and a grave injustice is done to them when their father and mother separate and leave their fate to the civil court. Surely the interests of children are not less paramount than those of the father or mother. Children of broken homes furnish a very high proportion of our criminals according to the verdict of the judges of Juvenile Courts, and according to a recent pronouncement of the Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover. Lacking a real home, lacking the love of both parents, lacking supervision over their comradeship and recreation, there is little wonder that children become a liability to society and create a social problem both serious and expensive.

Children of stable homes are usually a local and a national asset, but not so the children of broken homes. Of course, there are exceptional cases which make advisable the liberation of a good wife and mother of children from an inhuman or intemperate husband and father, but even then the marriage bond itself endures. All laws aiming at the general good work hardships on some individuals. The basis and unit of society and of the nation is the family which certainly should be unified, happy and religious.

MIXED MARRIAGES

Although there are some mixed marriages which eventuate quite satisfactorily, they are exceptions to the general rule; but there is no reason for them to *remain* mixed marriages. Every Catholic can consistently ask his non-Catholic friend to investigate the claims of his Church, and if this can be done prayerfully it will always result in the conversion of the non-Catholic.

I say that every Catholic can *consistently* demand this, because the average Protestant holds that one religion is as good as another. According to that principle the Catholic Church should be at least as good as any other, and much better than all others, for it is the mother Church, the oldest Church, the Church which counts 100,000,000 more members than all Protestant denominations taken together, the Church of which even history proves Christ to have been the Author, the Church whose members believe everything which the most exacting Protestant believes, the Church whose ideals are admittedly higher than those of any other.

On the other hand, no Catholic could consistently follow the non-Catholic in religion, because he does not hold that any church is as good as his own, but rather that the Son of God established only one Kingdom on earth and that his Church is that. The Catholic would sacrifice conscience, sacrifice principle, sacrifice many supernatural and divine things by embracing another religion, while the Protestant sacrifices only false impressions to gain much by embracing the Catholic religion, as hundreds of thousands of converts in our own country will testify. The non-Catholic who truly loves his sweetheart should not only wish her to remain what she is, but should become interested in her religion which requires that her love for him endure until death.

The Catholic who does fail to elicit the interest of his non-Catholic friend in his religion before marriage must keep his religion in the background, seldom talk about it, and convey to his friend the impression that it means little to him. If that friend observed that he was considerably interested in any other matter she would want to know all about it.

During courtship, therefore, the Catholic should impress on his non-Catholic friend that his most prized possession is his faith, that it is a source of great joy and happiness, that it sanctifies and will render permanent the love which should characterize marriage.

LOVE IS NOT INFATUATION

In these days when the vast majority of Americans, including too many Catholics, are victims of commercialized literature, the true concept of Love is being altered. There are all sorts of Love Story magazines, parading as *True Story*, *True Romance*, *True Confessions*, *True Love*, which lead their readers to confuse Love with Infatuation, or even with *Lust*. They contain thrilling stories of "love at first sight," while any right-minded person knows that there can be no such thing as love at first sight, because the object of true love is not a person's physical appearance, nor her beauty, nor her manners, but her personality; and how can one learn to know another's personality, or another's character at first sight?

Too often people who keep company for months do not learn to know each other's personality, the reason being that their courtship is conducted under conditions in which that personality does not reveal itself. If they met each other in their own homes, their true personality would quite instinctively assert itself.

TRUST YOUR CHURCH

The Catholic Church is the world's most experienced teacher, having dealt with people of all nations

for nineteen centuries; she understands human nature as does no other. Knowing that God has called most people to the married state, she expects them to embrace it. She knows how much youth is in need of counsel, particularly in these days when three-fourths of the youths of our nation lack even the most elementary knowledge of religion or of the principles of morality. She, with Saint Paul, holds marriage to be "a great Sacrament" and, therefore, urges even boys and girls in high school not only to pray for Heaven's guidance, but to so live during youth that they will win from God a most happy marriage built on true love. She has a big blessing for every marriage which is entered as a solemn contract before the altar in the sanctuary of their parish church.

As God's children, as followers of Him Who loved us unto death, promulgate the beautiful doctrine of your Church bearing on marriage. It should appeal to every decent-minded person.

DANGER AHEAD

There are two things which, more than anything else, will weaken our nation and bring it to ruin during the lifetime of children now living unless they will be checked by our countrymen coming to their senses. These two things are divorce and contraception.

With 3,000 Divorce Courts daily "putting asunder what God has joined together," separating not only husband from wife, but parents from children; with the growing tendency to regard marriage as only a temporary arrangement which must not be burdened with children, a thousand terrible things could happen before the year 2,000—only sixty years distant. The worst of the things which could happen would be Heaven's curse on the country at large and on the millions who defy the most important of all moral laws.

If Catholics are not to lead in the right direction, but *are to be led* by the morally perverted in the wrong direction, there will be absolutely no redeeming influence in the nation.

The 25,000,000 of us *can* lead and *must* lead our nation to respect the law of marriage, both as a patriotic duty and as a duty of loyalty to Him, Whose first public act was to bless a marriage at Cana, near His own home, Nazareth. Christ wishes to be invited to every marriage in order to bless it, to render it permanent, to make it happy, and through it to increase the number of His brothers and sisters, whom He would make everlastingly blissful in His heavenly paradise.

Catholics should take to heart the words of one of the foremost educators and sociologists in the world, who said:

"He who shrinks from contradicting the people of his country, if need be to the uttermost limit, is no leader, but a traitor."

Let each of us join all the rest of our brethren in an effort to reform and save society.

Democracy and Total War

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

Reprinted from The Dublin Review, July, 1940.

WHEN the war began there was a tendency in many neutral quarters to minimize the importance of the issues, to view it as a war in the old style between certain European powers in which only their own national interests and prestige were at stake, or even to regard it as but another move in the game of European diplomacy, a sham fight put up to cover a strategic retreat to new diplomatic positions.

After nine months it is no longer possible for anyone to deceive himself with such illusions. This "phoney war" has revealed itself as a total war which takes no account of national sovereignty or international conventions or human rights. Five neutral powers have already been overwhelmed and the conflagration spreads with such rapidity that no state is so strong or so remote that it can reckon on remaining isolated. Whatever the issue may be, it must affect the whole world and the future of every people and civilization.

Much has been written in recent months on the war aims and the peace aims of the Allies, but the real issue is a very simple one: to check the power of the greatest military machine in the world before it conquers Europe and dominates the world.

The most characteristic feature of the totalitarian system against which we are fighting is its claim to control men's minds as well as their bodies, and in order to enforce this claim it mobilizes all the resources of the new black arts of mass suggestion and propaganda. It wages war not only by military and economic means, but by spiritual weapons that are directed against the mind and will of the peoples who oppose it—and not of them alone, but of all peoples whose sympathies may affect the issue of the struggle—that is to say every people in the world.

This immense extension of the character of the war not only makes nonsense of the old conception of neutrality together with all the other established laws and conventions that guarded international relations, but involves moral issues to which no Christian can be indifferent. In the past it was possible to regard war as an external misfortune, like plague or famine, which must be endured as a divine judgment, but which did not affect man's personal responsibility or his religious freedom. On the contrary, the evils of war often strengthened the appeal of religion by

turning men's minds from earthly strife to the vision of eternal peace. But total war respects none of these things and leaves no spiritual value intact. It treats religion itself as another weapon in its armory, and if we take refuge in pacifism, we find that pacifism is being exploited in the same way as a useful tool for weakening resistance and disintegrating national morale.

The massive drive for power which constitutes totalitarianism is abolishing the limits which had been imposed by centuries of Christianity and civilization on the primitive instincts of violence and aggressiveness. But these limits are not only necessary to the preservation of individual freedom, they are no less essential to social order; and when they are destroyed, there is nothing left between the naked human soul and the forces of destruction. Thus the present war with its unlimited destructiveness and its utter disregard of legal and moral restrictions is only the consequence or the external symptom of the disease from which not only Germany and not only Europe but the whole world is suffering.

DISINTEGRATION AND DESPAIR

What is the source of this evil? It has certainly not been invented by Herr Hitler and his colleagues. They are its creatures, not its creators. They are only men who have been carried to power on the crest of the wave of destruction, like the leaders of the convention, the lawyers and journalists who appeared out of nowhere and changed the face of Europe and disappeared as suddenly as they had arisen. But whereas the driving force of the French Revolution was an immense wave of idealism and hope in the future, the new revolution is a movement of disintegration and despair which derives its strength from the liquidation of the ideals on which the nineteenth-century world had set its hopes.

During the last twenty years liberal democracy has met with one defeat after another. Over a great part of the world we have seen the complete abrogation of those liberties which the nineteenth century regarded as the basis of modern civilization and the establishment of a new social order which denies the most elementary human rights and destroys whole classes and peoples as ruthlessly as any Oriental despotism in the past. And this has come about not by the triumph of the "reactionary" or conservative forces in Western society, but by their defeat and the triumph of their enemies. It has been the work of mass movements and revolutionary parties led by men of the people.

It is important to distinguish two elements in the modern reaction against liberal democracy. There is the reaction that has arisen out of democracy itself, as a result of the progress of man's organization and the mechanization of our culture which has destroyed the economic and social basis of liberal individualism; and, secondly, there is the national reaction of those countries which had no native democratic tradition and which had accepted liberal ideas as part of the material culture of Western Europe, which they felt to be the symbol not only of progress, but also of foreign exploitation.

It was only when these two elements coalesced in the defeat and revolution of the post-war period that they gave birth to the new totalitarian order which is now threatening the existence of democracy in Western Europe and in the world. As in the nineteenth century, Western democracy asserted its hegemony by a process of economic and ideological penetration, by Free Trade and the free press and by the propagation of liberal ideas, so today the new totalitarian régime is seeking to extend its domination by its own methods—by the organization and disciplining of the masses and by the beating down of all opposition

within and without by a combination of psychological pressure and military aggression.

Is Western democracy strong enough to resist this attack, or is Western Europe destined to follow the path taken by Germany and Russia and to undergo a totalitarian revolution? The answer does not depend on military factors alone, for even success in war would not of itself prevent the decline of democracy if modern conditions are unfavorable to its survival, while on the other hand, if the foundations of Western democracy are sound, even a military defeat would not destroy it.

DEMOCRACY DEFINED

It is necessary, in the first place, to understand what we mean by democracy, and secondly, to distinguish between what is living and what is dead in the democratic tradition that we have inherited from the nineteenth century. By democracy we mean not merely self government or popular government, but rather that particular form of self government which was based on the ideal of personal liberty and which was embodied in representative or parliamentary institutions. This particular form of democracy is peculiar to modern Western civilization and is specially associated with the three great political nations of the West, England, France and the United States, from whom it spread in the course of the nineteenth century over almost the whole of the civilized world. But though it only attained its full development as a result of the three Western revolutions—the English Revolution of 1642-1688, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution—its roots lie deep in the soil of Western Christendom so that it is impossible to understand it aright apart from its religious and cultural background. Thus the Western ideal of liberty which is the inspiration of the whole democratic tradition is not a mere consequence of the new political

institutions. As Burke wrote, it permeated the whole Christian order of Christian society and "arose not from the laws of the State (in which it flourished more from neglect than attention), but from the system of manners and the habitudes of life." Above all it derived its strength from the Christian belief in the absolute and unique value of the human soul which infinitely transcends all the wealth and the power and the glory of the world.

The political and social consequences of such a belief are twofold. On the one hand it produces the ascetic or other-worldly attitude—the depreciation of earthly goods and worldly power, and the transference of the centre of thought and action to the supertemporal and religious sphere. But on the other hand it also tended to assert itself within the social and political order by the modification of social types and institutions in a Christian sense.

Thus, just as Christian monarchy became a very different thing from the barbarian kingships from which it was historically descended, so Christian freedom combined and transformed the elements of barbaric freedom and classical citizenship into something new. The deepest spiritual root of Western democracy is to be found neither in the blood brotherhood of warrior tribesmen nor in the civic privilege of the city state, but in the spiritual reversal of values which caused men to honor poverty and suffering and to see in the poor man the image of Christ Himself.

This sense of Christian liberty and Christian democracy (to use Leo XIII's expression) was diffused throughout the whole body of Christendom and formed the spiritual background of a social order which from an external point of view often appears extremely hierarchic and authoritarian. In Eastern Europe, owing largely to the Oriental imperialisms to which it was so long subjected, this background was so far removed from political realities that the Christian

social consciousness expressed itself in mystical or apocalyptic terms. In the West, however, the social order was more plastic and more organically related to the beliefs and ideals of the people. In fact, no civilization, not even that of ancient Greece, has ever undergone such a continuous and profound process of change as Western Europe has done during the last nine hundred years. It is impossible to explain this fact in purely economic terms by a materialistic interpretation of history. The principle of change has been a spiritual one and the progress of Western civilization is intimately related to the dynamic ethos of Western Christianity, which has gradually made Western man conscious of his moral responsibility and his duty to change the world.

This claim is implicit in the Christian view of the world: indeed it was already stated in the most explicit terms by Saint Paul: "Do you not know that the Saints shall judge the world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are you unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know you not that we shall judge Angels, how much more secular things?"¹ The history of Christendom is the story of the progressive vindication of this tremendous claim which not only made the Church a far more dynamic social force than any other religious body that the world has known, but diffused its influence through the whole of Western civilization and affected spheres of thought and action far removed from the direct influence of religion.

WESTERN DEMOCRACY AND CHRISTIAN CULTURE

It was not, in fact, until after the end of the Middle Ages when the unity of mediaeval Christendom had been lost that the full effects of this revolutionary spiritual change were felt. Thus the rise of Western democracy like that of Western humanism was not

¹ I Corinthians vi, 2-3.

really the creation of a new secular culture but were the results of Christian culture itself—the fruits of the labor of centuries which had ploughed the virgin soil of the West and scattered the new seed broadcast over the face of the earth. No doubt the seed was often mixed with cockle, or choked with briars, or sown on barren soil where it withered, nevertheless the harvest was good and the world still lives upon it.

We must therefore realize that when we say we are fighting for democracy, we are not fighting merely for certain political institutions or even political principles. Still less are we fighting for the squalid prosperity of modern industrialism which was the outcome of the economic liberalism of the last century. What we have to defend is, to quote Cardinal Liénart's words, "a human and Christian civilization, built with infinite patience": a work to which many different races and peoples and schools of thought have contributed century after century.

And in spite of the conflict that has marked its development it has been a work of unity; for Christianity and humanism and social freedom are not conflicting ideas that have alternately dominated the European mind, they have a spiritual affinity that was not apparent to the reformers and revolutionaries who were enveloped in the dust of conflict, but which is now becoming visible when all of them are threatened alike by inhuman forces that have no kinship with any of them.

The great danger we have to face is due to the absence of a clear understanding of this spiritual community. European culture has passed through a period of individualism and atomization which has prepared the way for the more formidable disintegration of nihilism which threatens us today. Hence it is all too easy in the shipwreck of Europe for each separate party or group to attempt to shift the blame for the disaster onto the shoulders of the rest or even

to exploit it in their own interests, somewhat as in the breakup of the Roman Empire every provincial army struck out for their own hand and used the common danger as an opportunity for their own aggrandizement. The enemies of Europe are quite conscious of this weakness and they are ready to exploit the divisions and dissensions between parties and sects and classes and schools of thought in order to produce an atmosphere of universal distrust and disintegration which will prepare the way for their work of destruction.

This is the cause of the gravity of the present situation. Western democracy is not only fighting a battle on two fronts with the rival totalitarianisms of the Right and the Left. It is at the same time being undermined from within by a process of disintegration which saps our vitality and weakens our power of resistance.

DEMOCRACY MUST MAINTAIN ITS SPIRITUAL VALUE

It is inevitable that we should seek to meet these dangers by an immense concentration of effort which unites all the forces of the nation—military, economic and psychological—in the common cause. Does this mean that it is impossible for democracy to defeat totalitarianism without becoming totalitarian itself? The great problem that the democratic states have to solve is how to reconcile the needs of mass organization and mechanized power, which finds its extreme expression in total war, with the principles of freedom and justice and humanity from which their spiritual strength is derived. There seems to be an inherent contradiction between the totalitarian technique which is a modernized form of the old tradition of absolute government, based on military discipline, the repression of freedom of thought and the régime of secret police, and the democratic system which involves the limitation of the power of the executive, government

by discussion and voluntary cooperation, and the freedom of public opinion; and no amount of scientific planning can overcome this opposition. Nevertheless it has yet to be proved that a system, which is of its nature more adaptable than the rigid order of absolutism, is incapable of meeting the challenge of the totalitarian state and the new conditions of warfare.

It is true that war, which is a state of organized violence, is by its very nature opposed to the ideal of personal liberty under the Rule of Law and the system of government by discussion which are characteristic of Western democracy. But war, viewed in this absolute sense, is no less opposed to Christianity and indeed to any high form of civilized life. War, in fact, is barbarism and "the nations that delight in war"—*gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt*—were regarded by Christian antiquity as "barbarians" in the strict sense and representatives of the opposite social principle to that which was embodied in the order of Christendom.

Again and again the existence of Christendom was threatened by the assaults of this external barbarism which often infected Christian society itself with the spirit of brutal violence and the lust of conquest. Nevertheless Christendom survived the dark ages in which the only law was that of the sword, and the nations who accepted the gospel of peace and worshiped the Cross of Christ proved stronger than the worshippers of the war god.

And so it may be in the conflict between the new barbarism, which sacrifices every human value to the conquest of power, and Western democracy, which is the heir of Christendom. Democracy will not be destroyed either by military defeat or by the discipline and organization which it has to impose on itself in order to gain the victory, if it can maintain its spiritual value and preserve itself from the dangers of demoralization and disintegration. But this is not an easy

task. For upwards of two hundred years the mind of Western culture has been divided against itself by the conflict between religion and rationalism, as it had been divided in the preceding centuries between Catholicism and Protestantism. But this conflict which divided the modern world was not really one between the religious and the anti-religious forces in our civilization, but a conflict between two rival religions: traditional Christianity, on the one hand, and, on the other, a secular religion of human progress which aroused no less enthusiastic faith and boundless hope and love of humanity than any religious revival.

But during the last thirty years this alignment of forces has ceased to represent the realities of the situation. A new power has arisen which is no less hostile to the liberal and humanitarian ideals of the apostles of progress than to the historic faith of Christendom. The world has been slow to grasp the nature of this power, for it has little in common with the religious and political theories that have governed mankind in the past. Its strength is derived not from ideas or beliefs, but from the negation of them, from the blind forces of destruction that lie deep in the human soul and which have now erupted from below the surface of civilization like a sleeping volcano that bursts into destructive activity.

DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW "ANTI-RELIGION"

The revolt against moral idealism and humanist culture and liberal democracy is no less of an historical reality than the Reformation or the French Revolution, and as those movements affected the whole of Western culture, though they were originally associated with a particular country, so is it with the new "anti-religion." As Dr. Borkenau has shown so clearly in his recent book,² *National Socialism in Ger-*

² *The Totalitarian Enemy* by Franz Borkenau. Faber & Faber.

many, like Bolshevism in Russia, is a specific national reaction to a worldwide state of mind. In Germany it has taken a distinctively military and aggressive turn, owing to the peculiar violence and rapidity of the dissolution of the nineteenth-century order that followed the collapse of the Empire in 1918, and to the fact that the nineteenth-century order as we know it in the West with its parliamentary liberalism and its economic individualism was a superficial development in comparison with the military tradition which had built up the Prussian State by war and for war to a degree that no other European State has been.

It has therefore proved easier in Germany to yoke the whole force of the State to the revolutionary will to power and to launch it like an avalanche on the plane of external aggression. In the same way the pagan character of the Nazi ethic is not without its historical background. For while Western Germany formed part of the body of Christendom from the beginning, the conversion of Eastern Germany and especially the Baltic provinces was not only late in time, but was carried out by war and violence, so that the disunity and lack of balance that marks the German national temperament is rooted in the racial and historical origins of the German national being. The spirit of the old gods was imperfectly exorcised by the sword and it has continued to haunt the background of the German mind.

In the West, on the other hand, paganism died a natural death and has left no trace behind it. When we speak of the followers of the new religion of progress as "pagans" we are using the word in a different sense. Locke and Franklin, Rousseau and Lamartine, J. S. Mill and Guizot and de Tocqueville were a great deal further removed from paganism than were their mediaeval ancestors. They were indeed still Christians of a sort, even though they no longer believed that they believed. Today this type of sublimated

Christianity is discredited. In fact it has been the object of sharper and more intense criticism than dogmatic Christianity. It is easy to understand that this change has been welcomed by pious Christians as a sign of religious revival and of a reawakening of religious faith. It is, however, nothing of the kind. It simply means that the disintegrating movement which was first directed against institutional and dogmatic Christianity has now been concentrated against the Christian ethos and the moral and humanitarian idealism that was derived from it. This is not surprising since in Western Europe institutional Christianity has long ceased to dominate society and culture, whereas the sublimated Christianity of the liberals and the humanitarians in spite of its vague and unorganized character was the working religion of Western democracy and exercised a real influence over the social consciousness. Nevertheless Christians have no reason to look on the defeat of the spirit with complacency or indifference. The cause of God and the cause of man are one. Christians were justified in condemning the separation of the ideals of justice and liberty and reason from their foundations in Christian faith and practice. But these ideals are not empty abstractions. They are the foundations of human life; and when they are undermined, the whole edifice of civilization is dissolved in disintegration and chaos.

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